

CHICAGO LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The Sixty-First Academic Year

1950-1951

The Opening Service	10:30 a.m., Tuesday, September 26, 1950
The Fall Quarter's classes begin	8 a.m., Wednesday, September 27, 1950
The Thanksgiving Holiday begins	12:30 noon, Wednesday, November 22, 1950
The Thanksgiving Holiday ends	8 a.m., Monday, November 27, 1950
The Fall Quarter ends	12:30 noon, Friday, December 15, 1950
The Winter Quarter begins	8 a.m., Wednesday, January 3, 1951
The Day of Preparation for Lent for the Seminary Community and Chicago area pastors	Monday, February 5, 1951
The Senior Comprehensive Examinations begin	Monday, March 12, 1951
The Winter Quarter ends	12:30 noon, Friday, March 16, 1951
The Holy Week Recess begins	12:30 noon, Friday, March 16, 1951
The Holy Week Recess ends	8 a.m., Tuesday, March 27, 1951
The Spring Quarter begins	8 a.m., Tuesday, March 27, 1951
The Meeting of the Board of Directors	10 a.m., Wednesday, June 6, 1951
The Commencement	8 p.m., Thursday, June 7, 1951
The Spring Quarter ends	12:30 noon, Friday, June 8, 1951

GRADUATE STUDIES

THE FALL SEMESTER, OCTOBER 3, 1950 TO JANUARY 23, 1951

(Lectures and class sessions on Tuesdays. Omit December 19 and 26 and January 2.)

THE SPRING SEMESTER, FEBRUARY 6 TO JUNE 5, 1951

(Lectures and class sessions on Tuesdays. Omit Tuesday of Holy Week, March 20, 1951.)

THE 1951 SUMMER SESSION

FIRST TERM, MONDAY, JULY 2 to FRIDAY, JULY 20, 1951

SECOND TERM, MONDAY, JULY 23 to FRIDAY, AUGUST 10, 1951

THE SUMMER CONVOCATION, WEDNESDAY, 8 P.M., AUGUST 8, 1951

Two lectures or class sessions daily in each course; five days per week.

Metropolitan elevated trains provide transportation between Chicago and Maywood. Trains marked "Maywood-Westchester" leave Chicago's Loop station at twelve-minute intervals. All trains stop at Maywood's Eleventh Avenue station, two blocks north of the campus. Cab service can be secured by getting off at the Fifth Avenue station. This is convenient if one has heavy bags to carry.

THE CHICAGO LUTHERAN SEMINARY RECORD

VOL. LV

MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER, 1950

No. 4

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Maywood, Illinois, under Act of March 3rd, 1879.

The Chicago Lutheran Seminary RECORD is published on the 15th of January, April, July and October.

Subscriptions in the U.S.A. and Canada, 25 cents (stamps or money order).

Address: The Chicago Lutheran Seminary, 11th Avenue and Van Buren St., Maywood, Illinois.

Editor of this issue: Dr. H. Grady Davis.

Once more, gentle reader, we share with you in this Autumn number the result of some diggings in the fields and forests and mountains of human existence.

ROGER WILLIAMS: ERRATIC PROPHET OF AN AMERICAN IDEAL

ARMIN GEORGE WENG

Almost sainted by one American church body and cordially disliked by another, Roger Williams stands forth as one of those Americans who, whatever his contribution to the nation may have been, will not be forgotten by the people of this land. He will continue to be loved by some, hated by others, but possessing a fascination for all. Were he alive today, sentiment would be just as divided as it is concerning Secretary Acheson or Senator McCarthy.

Were Roger Williams alive today, he would definitely be tagged as a man of ideas. Although always looking for trouble, and never failing to find it, Roger Williams did hit upon a principle so great that it will be remembered as long as this nation endures as a free land—the principle of the separation of church and state. Thus, cantankerous as he was personally, he stands forth as a man who contributed something significant to the American form of government and to the place of the church in America.

Born probably in the year 1607 in London, he was the son of James Williams, a merchant tailor, and his wife, Alice Williams. Little is known of his boyhood, except that he attracted the attention of Sir Edward Coke, who placed Roger in the Charter House School in 1621. From there he went in 1623 to Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1626. For a time he studied law with Sir Edward Coke, but soon found this distasteful and thereupon took up the study of theology, a discipline much more in accord with William's spirit and temperament.

Whether Roger Williams ever was a minister of the Established Church is not known for certain. Early, however, he appears to have become a strong opponent of ritualism and of the use of the liturgy. He was a member, perhaps as a layman, of the national church and early became an ad-

responsive potencies for criticism, discipline, reformation and return that lie resident in the common life by gift of God's common grace. American life, sullen and troubled with guilt over the chasm between her magnificent opportunities and the deepening commercialization, trivialization, and loss of her dreams, has nevertheless possibilities for redemption that lie inert while our leaders spray with the molasses of material assurances the heart of a people that needs, and deeply longs for the mallet of a moral challenge. There is an unforgotten leanness, purposefulness, and the remains of a God-given dream, still slumbering under the bubble-gum and the fake-leopard upholstered convertibles that have become symbolic of American culture to millions of men. And this slumbering heart, that knows with a weary wisdom that the things which belong to its peace are somewhat other and better than the advertisements tell of,—this heart that longs to be addressed with a summons and a pointing hand gets, instead, assurances from nervous officials that it really is not necessary to hoard nylons, sugar and automobile tires because there is plenty of stuff about, and it does not appear that our assumption of heavy world responsibilities will require any serious rendering of our fat.

The pericope ends with the haunting words, so rich in promise and so fragrant with the wild grace of God that is so unsystematically given in such unexpected places,—the word that “. . . the people were very attentive to hear Him.” You, who hear this, do you understand what is being said to you. . . ? The light of a new beginning is an unrefracted light; it cannot ultimately be shut off or covered up or its beam slanted aside by anything other than yourself! The water of a new life for you can be *apparently* bottled up, ditched off, evaporated by institutions in history. But not really!

THE GOODNESS AND SEVERITY OF GOD

I have a bed of sin; delight in sin is a bed: I have a grave of sin; senselessness of sin is a grave: and where Lazarus had been four days, I have been for fifty years in this putrefaction; why dost thou not call me, as thou didst him, with a loud voice, since my soul is as dead as his body was? I need thy thunder, O my God; thy music will not serve me.

John Donne, “Expostulation” in *Devotion*, No. 21.
Written in 1624

SOME NOTES ON THE POSSIBLE ARAMAIC GOSPELS

ARTHUR VÖÖBUS

Although the four Gospels in our New Testament are extant only in Greek, scholars have observed long ago that the traditional view of the Greek origin of the Gospels is unable to explain every problem. J. Wellhausen 45 years ago formulated this conviction when he said: “It is not valid and it does not help us to stick our heads into the Greek bush.”¹ He meant by this that other cogent evidences cannot any longer be overlooked, evidences which point to the Aramaic origin of the Gospels. Since those days scholars in increasing number have made new approaches and have come to the same place. It is true that opinions as to how far we can proceed disagree. Wellhausen, for instance, was convinced that Mark was written in Aramaic; Burney and de Zwaan reckoned with the Aramaic origin of the Fourth Gospel; Littmann reached the same result as Wellhausen, and Torrey held that all four Gospels were written originally in Aramaic before they were translated into Greek. But regardless of the results, it is clear that these interesting observations and sagacious attempts at solution, made during the last decades, have made a valuable contribution to New Testament studies. All these studies radiate a conviction that a new perspective is opened for New Testament research. Indeed they are not mistaken. Regardless of the fact that the last word is not said, a fresh starting place for further progress is made. Still more, since here is a field in which the New Testament scholars meet with the orientalists for joint efforts.

Against these results two arguments have been opposed, particularly in the studies of Colwell² and Goodspeed.³ It will be of interest to deal with these arguments here. The first argument is that there was no Aramaic literature at that time, and no Aramaic reading public, since we do not possess the documents.

This argument is not tenable, for it is refuted by methodological as well as by historical considerations. Methodologically it is invalid to say so. I myself have had opportunities to make observations in a cognate field which admonish us to be very careful in making use of this argument. As is wellknown, Burkitt based his theories about textual-historical matters upon the fact that there exist only two manuscripts of the Old Syriac Gospels and more than a hundred of the revised version. On the basis of these extant exponents he drew the conclusion that the Old Syriac text type of the Gospels has been only an old-fashioned form which has no significance, but the revised version gained early an absolute supremacy and became the official Gospel text in the Syrian church. All that was seemingly correct. But a thorough research brings us to a perplexing discovery: that the quotations from the Gospels made by the Syrian writers during the Middle-Ages, and preserved in the Syriac literature, show a use of the Old Syriac text type, which has played a very important role in this significant branch of Oriental Christianity.⁴ The lesson is that we must be very careful with this sort of argument. Thus, any argument based on

the absence of Aramaic manuscripts of the first century is invalid. A close study teaches us how accidental and fragmentary is the character of the exponents and how little we know of the ancient world.

Moreover the testimony of the historical facts furnishes a positive proof. Because the answer to this argument has already been given by several scholars,⁵ we mention only the most essential points.

There is incontrovertible evidence not only of the existence but of a widespread use of Aramaic literature in Palestine in centuries before and in the first century after Christ. The most important exponents are the Targums. Already before New Testament times, it was necessary to translate the Hebrew text of the Scripture into Aramaic, because the people did not understand Hebrew any longer. Abraham Geiger, nearly one hundred years ago, made the observation that these official Targums, which were definitely fixed in Babylonia not before the fifth century A.D., must have been preceded by other and older Targums. He was convinced that the so-called Talmud Jerushalmi has preserved old material which may go back to the pre-Christian period. Indeed, his conviction proved to be true when Kahle, the happy discoverer, brought to light fragments and remnants of this old Palestinian Targum to the Torah.⁶ That was a real sensation in the world of Biblical Scholarship. And when Gustav Dalman, the famous scholar who reconstructed Jesus' words on the basis of the language of the Babylonian Talmud, visited Kahle and saw these fragments written in the Palestinian Aramaic, in the language which was spoken by Jesus and his disciples, he recognized at once that he had built his reconstruction on a mistake. Moreover these fragments showed that written Targums must have existed in very ancient times in Palestine.⁷ Thus, these fragments brought a confirmation of the Rabbinical tradition that the Targum of Job existed in written form before the year 50 A.D.⁸ This tradition already permitted some inferences. For if a Targum on the Hagiographa existed in written form at that time, it is natural to suppose the existence of the Targums on other books of the Old Testament. Exactly these Targums were the Bible which was read in the synagoge at the time of Jesus, and these were the Sacred Books of the disciples of Jesus, the use of which is evident in the New Testament writings.

But that is not all we know of the Aramaic literature and its use. We possess today remnants of this literature in the books of Daniel and Ezra, and a long list of documents which have come down to us only in other languages, but were originally written in Aramaic. These are the apocraphal and pseudoepigraphic writings, such as *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, *Letter of Gamaliel I*, *Assumption of Moshe*, the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Book of Tobit* and others. The originals in Aramaic have perished in the harsh climate of Palestine. But where the ancient writers have used durable material, we are amazed to learn that in the ancient world Aramaic was used not only in Palestine but even far beyond its boundaries. Brief graffiti, principally on ossuaries of the Herodian age, ostraca from Samaria, inscriptions engraved on durable materials from Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor, papyri from Egypt and clay tablets from Babylonia testify to the widespread use of Aramaic as a *lingua franca*. Of course, this mass of brief

notes is far from being a recompensation for the lost literary monuments in Aramaic, but it is reliable material which gives a considerable support to other data.

The second argument used against the possibility of Aramaic Gospels is that the Christians were even less literary than others. This is the question in which we are particularly interested in this article. I think some observations can be made which have been overlooked, but which help to enlighten our problem somewhat. Any light that can be thrown on this question would be very welcome before we try to give an answer to this argument.

Our first step is to make some inroads into the Palestinian milieu shortly before and after the birth of Christ. When we are not satisfied with the information given by Josephus who speaks of three parties in Judaism: Pharisees, Saducees and Essenes,⁹ and question other sources, our attention is called to very interesting conditions in Palestine. Justin Martyr, who was of Palestinian origin, speaks of religious movements about which Josephus is silent. He mentions seven groups among which the baptist movement stands out.¹⁰ Hegesippus, again of Palestinian origin, among others, speaks of different baptist movements.¹¹ Finally, Rabbi Johanan who evinces historical interests says that there were 24 sects in Judaism.¹² Thus, in the light of these sources and other similar documents, Palestine does not appear as a homogeneous community in which the idyllic religious tranquillity was disturbed only by the discussion between the Pharisees and Saducees; these data picture Palestine as a scene of various religious movements: pietist, ascetic, baptist, syncretistic, and even gnostic. Manuscript discoveries have unveiled somewhat this interesting side of the religious milieu. Some decades ago Schechter found a document which is a product of a sect with special practices. And recent manuscript discoveries make us acquainted with a new sect characterized by sharp cosmic dualism. Interestingly these "sons of light" who fight the forces of Beliar appear as an early form of gnosticism on the Palestinian ground.

Further, all these religious movements were in mutual competition so that the literary propaganda played a very great role. In order to gain an insight into this activity it is indispensable to consult some documents which open to us a way into this atmosphere.

The first is a document called the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. This source is a Jewish apocryphal book of the first pre-Christian century. Obviously it was written originally in Aramaic, and its Greek form is only a translation. Among nine manuscripts one, the Mount Athos MS, permits us to make momentous observations.¹³ It contains a section which has been interpolated into the ordinary text. A study of this section enforces the conclusion that its whole purpose was the religious propaganda of one particular sect. The text itself depicts the circles behind this interpolation. These believers who pray with extended hands and uplifted eyes, and implore forgiveness of sins and cleanness of life, are Jewish baptists. This manuscript has been used in these circles and here a new copy was transcribed and put into service for the propagation of their ideas.

Our next source belongs to a group of documents known under the name *Oracula Sibyllina*.¹⁴ In it we find an intercalated section so notice-

ably added to the rest of the text that the joint is palpable.¹⁵ In that we meet with a very interesting text¹⁶ the purpose of which is obvious. We meet here with a milieu in which the religion centers in the piety of heart enshrined in special ablutions in free and running water under the open sky. But this group appears as self-conscious and aggressive. It is aware that its practice is in sharp opposition with the temple and sacrifice. Thus, again we come across a literary piece which has been inserted into this widely used composition. These interpolators cannot be sought for among the Essenes who, according to the Slavonic recension of the Jewish War, were interested in foreign literature.¹⁷ We know that the Essenes did not reject the temple-cult absolutely, but felt that their practices have exempted them from it. Behind this interpolation must stand one of the radical and aggressive baptist movements.

By combining these results with other data we may gain a still deeper insight into the same milieu. These observations make us attentive towards similar things in sources of Palestinian provenance. It is not valueless when, compelled by the scarcity of sources, we even touch documents which are a little younger, but are based on earlier traditions.

In the so-called Pseudo-Clementine literature, which originated in the old Jewish Christian circles, we are astonished to see how wide a role is played by the interpolation technique.¹⁸ These circles suspected that the Jewish groups which were interested in particular ideas, have interpolated the Torah by new pericopies.¹⁹ They, of course, cleansed the text for their own purpose and circulated it. Still other facts call for consideration. Epiphanius depicts the Nasorean sect which was a pre-Christian movement. Here again we meet with the same phenomenon. They accepted the authority of patriarchs but rejected the books of Torah because they considered them as interpolated.²⁰ They made their own recension and put it in circulation. Also we may mention a book of revelation in Aramaic, the book of Elchasaï²¹ which was a Jewish document but later was interpolated to make it Christian, and now was circulated as a basis for a new sect. Finally it is very interesting to note that the ancient Jewish Christian document *Contestatio* furnishes an interesting sidelight. Here we see that the interpolation technique flourished so exuberantly that in the ancient Jewish Christian community the religious writings needed a particular protection: namely, the bishops had a special duty to keep the books in order to prevent inserting of strange pericopies. He was permitted to hand them over only to persons who have been trained six years for this purpose. This strict order and other measures connected with it²² was intended to make impossible the circulation of these books, which meant interpolation.

Now what is the result of this excursus? What do these sources tell? Something very important, I think. These frequent references permit certain generalization. In ancient Palestine, in the milieu of religious contention between several movements, there existed an exuberant literary activity in the service of religious propaganda. Only so can this interpolation technique of foreign documents be comprehensible. It does not disturb us that our sources are in Greek, because what we have distilled is something which belongs to the style of recruitment, a technique which was the same whether Greek was used or Aramaic.

But still more. We do not need to stop with this statement. Also the existence of this propaganda literature in Aramaic is confirmed by the Rabbinical tradition which helps us to substantiate our observations even chronologically. Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, who flourished in Jerusalem in the middle of the first century after Christ, warns his people that "the Gilyonim and the writings of the Minim do not defile the hands."²³ That means: the writings of the sectarians are not holy scripture. The utterances of famous Rabbis leave nothing to be desired. Rabbi Jose who had personal experiences from the temple says concerning these books that on a week day he cuts out the Divine Names and hides and burns the rest.²⁴ But Rabbi Tarphon, who as a boy had attended service in the temple, is particularly angry about the writings of the sectarians: "if they come into my hands, I shall burn them and their Divine Names".²⁵ In a statement like this, where the Rabbi had no patience to cut out the Divine Name (obviously the Tetragrammaton written with the familiar Hebrew letters in Aramaic as well as in Greek writings²⁶), a historian hears how successful was the subversive work of this literature. The same is explicitly stated by Rabbi Ishmael who belongs to the same period. He confirms the deep influence of this subversive work of the propaganda literature which throws "enmity, envy and competition between Israel and the Father in Heaven".²⁷

Now, after this study, we try to give an answer to the second argument brought against the possibility of Aramaic Gospels. In the light of the above analysis it would be temerarious to assert that the Christians could not have Gospels in Aramaic during these 35-40 years before our Greek Gospels were written. I must confess that to me this supposition seems quite incredible.

The first Christians were Aramaic-speaking Jews recruited not only from circles who centered in the temple cult or synagogue service but also from several religious movements. There were former Essenes, baptists, pietists, ascetics and gnostics. The history of religion teaches us that we cannot expect that they came with empty hands, but with their religious, ethical, theological and missionary traditions. Now as believers in Christ they sought by every means possible to win their people. Can we believe that they did not make use of the style and means of contemporary religious propaganda? From all that has been said it follows that it is unthinkable that the Aramean Christians should not do the same. They certainly wrote down the stories which constituted the authoritative message of salvation, or parts of it, in their own tongue. And certainly they, too, took Aramaic documents, written by other religious movements, and compiled and interpolated them, in the sincere conviction that the deepest expectations cherished subconsciously in these various groups have found their fulfillment in Jesus the risen Lord.

1. *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin, 1905) 35.
2. E. C. Colwell, *The Greek of the Fourth Gospel* (Chicago, 1931.).
3. E. J. Goodspeed, *The Original Language of the Gospels* (New York, 1937).
4. See my *Neue Ergebnisse in der Erforschung der Geschichte der Evangelien-texte im Syrischen* (Pineberg, 1948).
5. C. C. Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church* (New York, 1941); A. T. Olmstead, "Could an Aramaic Gospel be Written?" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

- (Chicago, 1942) I, 41 ff.; R. A. Bowman, "Arameans, Aramaic, and the Bible," *ibid.* 1948, Vol. VII, 65 ff.
6. P. Kahle, *Die Masoreten des Westens* (Bonn, 1930) II, 1 ff.
 7. *The Cairo Geniza*. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy (London, 1947) 117 ff.
 8. Shabbath 15 c, Talmud Jerushalemi; Shabbath 115 a, Talmud Babli.
 9. *De bello judaico* II, 119, ed. S. A. Naber (Leipzig, 1896) V, 161.
 10. *Dialogus* 80, ed. Migne, *Patrologia graeca* VI, col. 453.
 11. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, 22, 7, ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig, 1903) I, 372.
 12. *Jer. Sanch.* 10, 29 c.
 13. *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford, 1908) 29.
 14. *Oracula Sibyllina*, ed. J. Geffcken (Leipzig, 1902).
 15. vv. 1-48 and 152-192.
 16. vv. 164-172, *ibid.* 100 f.
 17. Flavius Josephus, *Vom juedischen Kriege*, Buch I-IV nach der slavischen Uebersetzung, herausg. A. Berendts und K. Grass (Dorpat, 1924) 256.
 18. *Clementina*, ed. P. de Lagarde (Leipzig, 1865) 32 ff.
 19. *Recognitiones*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia graeca* I, col. 1266 ff.
 20. *Panarion* XVIII, ed. K. Hoil (Leipzig, 1915) I, 215 f.
 21. Hippolyte, *Elenchos* IX, ed. P. Wendland (Leipzig, 1916) III, 251 ff.
 22. *Contestatio* cap. 1-3, *Clementina*, ed. Lagarde 4 f.
 23. *Tosephta Yadaim* II, 13.
 24. Shabbath 15 c, Jerushalmi; Shab. 116 b, Babli; Shab. 13, 5, *Tosephta*.
 25. *ibid.*
 26. Papyrus Fragment, ed. W. D. Waddell. *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford, 1944) XLV, 158 ff.
 27. Shabbath 15 c, Jerushalmi and parall.

O God of earth and altar,
 Bow down and hear our cry,
 Our earthly rulers falter,
 Our people drift and die;
 The walls of gold entomb us,
 The swords of scorn divide,
 Take not thy thunder from us,
 But take away our pride.

From all that terror teaches,
 From lies of tongue and pen,
 From all the easy speeches
 That comfort cruel men,
 From sale and profanation
 Of honour and the sword,
 From sleep and from damnation,
 Deliver us, good Lord!

Tie in a living tether
 The prince and priest and thrall,
 Bind all our lives together,
 Smite us and save us all;
 In ire and exultation
 Aflame with faith, and free,
 Lift up a living nation,
 A single sword to thee.

GILBERT KIETH CHESTERTON

REMEMBER THE SEMINARY IN YOUR PRAYERS!
 REMEMBER THE SEMINARY WITH YOUR GIFTS!
 REMEMBER THE SEMINARY IN YOUR WILL!

✱

Chicago Seminary has had many gracious and generous benefactors—both those who remembered the Seminary in their life time, and those who reached from the grave to benefit this institution. Their gifts have, in the past, built buildings for the use of future generations, established professors' chairs, increased the endowment funds, provided necessary furnishings, and beautified the campus. Because of these benefactions, the Seminary has been able to carry on its great task of educating men for Christian leadership to carry on the world-wide ministry for Christ and the Church. May their vision and generosity be a burning and a shining light to others who believe in the Gospel of Christ and who wish to invest in those who proclaim His Gospel.

✱

FORM OF BEQUEST

I hereby give and bequeath to "The Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Chicago, Illinois," the sum of _____
 (or that certain parcel and tract of land, etc.) to be applied by the Directors to the purpose of said Seminary.

Every testator should be careful to comply with the laws of the State concerning bequests for charitable and religious purposes.